

DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 349 354

UD 028 844

TITLE School Desegregation--The Unfinished Agenda.
Proceedings from the Daisy Bates Educational Summit
(Little Rock, Arkansas, May 9-11, 1991).

INSTITUTION National Association for the Advancement of Colored
People, New York, N.Y.

SPONS AGENCY Rockefeller Foundation, New York, N.Y.

PUB DATE 92

NOTE 35p.

PUB TYPE Collected Works - Conference Proceedings (021)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.

DESCRIPTORS Access to Education; *Affirmative Action; Black
Community; *Black Education; Black History; Black
Leadership; Black Youth; *Civil Rights; Civil Rights
Legislation; *Conferences; Elementary Secondary
Education; Higher Education; Racial Relations;
*School Desegregation

IDENTIFIERS *African Americans; *National Association Advancement
Colored People

ABSTRACT

This publication presents the proceedings of an educational summit held in May 1991 to honor D. Bates and to examine the unfinished agenda of the desegregation movement. Bates was President of the Arkansas State Conference of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) when the Little Rock (Arkansas) School Board voted to desegregate Central High School in 1957. At the summit in 1991, 21 education scholars, NAACP staff and national board members, state and local NAACP presidents, and selected education and legal redress chairpersons gathered to discuss the current status and future prospects for school desegregation. The proceedings are presented in a narrative form concerning the following topics or sections: (1) introduction; (2) conference overview; (3) whether school desegregation is still feasible; (4) desegregation successes and failures; (5) second and third generation desegregation (within school segregation and unequal educational outcomes); (6) school choice (controlled choice, magnet schools, voucher plans, and black male schools); (7) higher education; (8) "Thirty-Seven Years after Brown" (Judge R. L. Carter); and (9) policies and strategies (offers three policy guidelines, six recommended strategies, and extensive recommendations and goals). An epilogue summarizes the conference. Included are highlights of the school desegregation experiences of the summit experts and a bibliography of 27 items. (JB)

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PROCEEDINGS FROM

May 9-11, 1991

Daisy Bates Educational Summit

School Desegregation - The Unfinished Agenda

Held in Little Rock Arkansas

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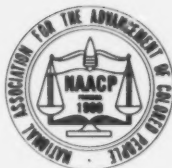
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Introduction

The Daisy Bates Educational Summit was held May 9-10, 1991 in Little Rock, Arkansas in honor of Mrs. Daisy Bates.

Mrs. Bates was the President of the Arkansas State Conference of NAACP Branches when the Little Rock School Board voted to desegregate Central High School in 1957. The School Board action occurred three years after the United States Supreme Court ruled that racially segregated schools were declared unconstitutional by the *Brown V. Board of Education* decision.

Scholars, litigators, activists, advocates and others attending the Summit sought to identify strategies, programs, and policies that will complete the agenda advanced by Mrs. Bates—the pursuit of quality, desegregated education, in an integrated society.

Mrs. Daisy Bates was a pioneer. In the 1950s, it was her courage, and the courage and convictions of the "Little Rock Nine", their families, and the community, which allowed her to seize the opportunity to advance our society on the pathway towards increased equity in education. It was believed during this time that if people of color were educated in a desegregated, integrated setting, they could eventually



secure greater equity in the society-at-large.

The Black community in Little Rock, in general, was divided on the strategy for achieving integration. White opposition was real, and more violent, than the present generation can perceive. But Mrs. Bates was unrelentingly committed to educational equity.

Then Governor Orval E. Faubus and the Arkansas National Guard tried to deter Mrs. Bates from entering Central High School. The Arkansas National Guard troops were nationalized by President Dwight D. Eisenhower and were neutralized as a threat. Yet white mobs continued to gather and threaten the students. Federal troops—1100 combat-ready soldiers from the 101st Airborne Division—also arrived to enforce the desegregation order.

Mrs. Bates stood up to the mob threats. A cross was even burned on her lawn. Yet she led a group of nine black students—The Little Rock Nine—into the previously all-white Central High School and successfully desegregated the schools of Little Rock, Arkansas. She is a true heroine of the Civil Rights Movement.

To Mrs. Daisy Bates, the NAACP dedicates this educational plan with hopes of obtaining and assuring educational equity for all.

This publication was made possible by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation!

The NAACP also acknowledges the contributions of Dr. Robert Glenn in the preparation of these proceedings.

II. CONFERENCE OVERVIEW

In 1990, the Education Committee of the National NAACP decided that it needed to join forces with its legal department to review the issues of school desegregation.

The 1954 *Brown* decision had brought forth vast changes in society; yet recently, it appeared that the civil rights movement and educational equity, in particular, seemed adrift. On its face, it appeared that *Brown* plaintiffs were being educated no better than before the decision; that progress in desegregation was elusive, and that because of this, plaintiffs are still restrained from making the political and economic gains envisioned when judicial remedy was sought.

Some twenty-one education scholars, NAACP staff and National Board members, state and local NAACP presidents, and select Education & Legal Redress Chairpersons gathered together in Little Rock, Arkansas to discuss the current status and future prospects for school desegregation. Those assembled were asked to challenge educational and legal redress, to analyze school desegregation issues, and to propose various strategies for implementation.

ensued:

- Debated whether school desegregation was still feasible.
- Discussed desegregation successes and failures.
- Outlined issues of second and third generation desegregation (within school segregation and unequal educational outcomes).
- Examined school "Choice," as recently defined by the U.S. Department of Education, for its potentially negative effects on desegregation and the education of urban, poor, minority, and black children.
- Explored the significance of the Adams Case in higher education desegregation; how college mergers affect program access and options; how testing serves as a barrier to access; recruitment, retention and graduation rates; as well as campus climate.

After exploring these issues, the group was challenged to re-dedicate themselves to the unfinished agenda relating to school desegregation issues.

III. IS SCHOOL DESEGREGATION STILL FEASIBLE?



Mrs. Daisy Bates and Judge Robert Carter

During the session, the participants gave personal testimony to the issues at hand, provided related anecdotal information, and discussed research results attendant to the issues of school desegregation. The following highlights the discussion which

The Honorable Arthur Fletcher, Chairman U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, and Derrick Bell, Esq., Weld Professor of Law, Harvard University, debated the relevance of school desegregation as a goal for a revitalized civil rights

movement. As Professor Bell stated, however, "this was not a debate in regard to sacrifices made, hopes envisioned and disappointments experienced."

In the years since the *Brown* decision, schools—particularly urban schools for the poor, blacks and Hispanics—are more racially identifiable, racially isolated or segregated than ever. Thus, the conditions for equal educational opportunity are not in place in relation to the original vision of the *Brown* decision.

The issues of school desegregation evolved through three generations: (1) eliminating physical segregation, (2) within school segregation and (3) confronting unequal outcomes. Problems from the three (3) generations exist simultaneously in many of the more than 500 school desegregation cases that are now open. The problems addressed are racial balance, resegregation, and equity.



Mr. Roosevelt Walters

The majority of our youth of color live in urban areas. Several concurrent factors have rendered the dream of quality, desegregated education, and equal educational opportunity in an integrated society more remote than ever. Some of the deterrent factors are: racism, white flight from desegregation, the suburbanization of America, the consequent outflow of jobs, new housing opportunities in distant locations, and currently black middle class flight from the urban core in search of a better quality of life.

The combination of these factors have left the cities with a diminished tax base, and with a seemingly diminishing will to require schools to educate people of color. Unless additional strategies are

adopted, desegregation and the hopes for an equitable, integrated society seem remote for many of our youth in 1992 and beyond.



Herbert Henderson, Esq.

Mr. Fletcher reminded us that in the years since the *Brown* decision, U.S. demographics and world economic conditions have made it imperative for American business to consider new sources of labor. The majority of new workers entering the labor force will be predominately white women, blacks, Hispanics and other minorities. We must convince white males that they cannot keep America competitive on a worldwide basis by themselves.

Mr. Fletcher believes that with these emerging changes, "conditions are right for doing what we set out to do 30 years ago with the *Brown* decision. Maybe we can make it work now. Attaining the ideal has been a mixed bag, he cautions. In some cases we have come close. In others [the resistance] is so dug-in." He also noted that, "the dream was that with integration, black and white children would grow up accustomed to one another, thus opening up economic development. I did not think that the dream would turn to a nightmare."

Mr. Derrick Bell of Harvard University, while empathizing with Mr. Fletcher, felt that we are farther away from the goal of racial equality than ever. He said: "the idea of appealing to the competitive instincts of white society is a hoax... since masses of whites have supported programs that were contrary to their economic interests as long as those policies provided them with a status



Derrick Bell and Honorable Arthur Fletcher

superior to that of blacks." He further stated that all the "progress" that has been made in desegregation "depended more on the perceived benefits to whites of the proposed racial reforms, rather than on the degree of injustice actually suffered by blacks or other people disadvantaged by color."

When blacks won their school desegregation fight, they suffered punishing, disproportionate burdens in the implementation of the remedies, including loss of neighborhood schools, displacement of black administrators and teachers, long bus rides for their children, and received the kind of education that in many cases is worse, in terms of outcomes, than the segregated education of yesterday. The primary, deep-seated barrier to equity in education is racism, according to Mr. Bell. He admonishes that if we are to progress, we need to accept the permanent racist status of this country, just as one would accept the inevitability of death. Then we should learn to live with that reality, while we fight against it.

Mr. Bell noted that our best reforms are doomed to failure. He gave examples of how legislation won to protect minorities has eventually been used against them or has been circumvented. This pattern of



Dr. Beverly P. Cole

defeat after a win has been repeated in housing and employment discrimination. Winning the litigation has been costly and counterproductive. "Why is it that these social reforms appear doomed, lost causes?" Bell questions. He makes a case that at its core, white America is unified in its whiteness. Given that fact, it is no wonder that our strategies are doomed to failure or have token success. He concluded that, "Although we pursue traditional civil rights strategies, none of us would want to wage anything on the likelihood that they will be successful and lead to meaningful racial reform."

IV. DESEGREGATION SUCCESSES AND FAILURES

In 1903, W.E.B. DuBois said that the color line was the problem of the 20th century. The circumvention of the 1954 *Brown* decision is evidence that the color line is still a reality in the 21st century.

Drs. Ogle Duff, Gary Orfield, Hugh Scott, and William Taylor, Esq. discussed the status of school desegregation—successes and failures. Desegregation has been a bitter pill for both blacks and whites in America. Despite this, where communities have worked at making desegregation successful, there have been benefits for minority students, as well as white students.

"As more and more children who have experienced desegregation throughout their school years graduate from high school, evidence is emerging that school desegregation promotes the racial integration of society. Children who have attended desegregated schools tend to have more friends who are of another race; tend to work in higher status jobs; to attend to graduate from multicultural colleges and universities at twice the rate as students from segregated high schools; tend to work in integrated workplaces, and tend to live in integrated neighborhoods. School desegregation, overall, promotes the integration of society, and has reduced the achievement gap by one-third." (Hawley and Orfield).

Orfield contends that many blacks are positive about school integration inspite of:

- the inordinate and disproportionate bussing burden
- resegregation within schools with tracking and extra curricular activities
- inability to attend the neighborhood school because of housing segregation
- continued achievement gaps
- white flight and the revision of plans to adjust to it
- disproportionate suspensions and expulsions
- disproportionate drop-outs
- disproportionate placement in special education
- under-representation in the gifted and talented programs



Dr. Benjamin L. Hooks

The discussion must focus on desegregation that is accomplished well, versus desegregation that is accomplished poorly. The problem is not integration, but rather how to best desegregate.

Some critics of desegregation contend that unless school desegregation can solve all the issues, it should be abandoned completely, and students should be returned to their neighborhood schools.

Dr. Hugh Scott maintains that the belief that a racially integrated, effective school for all students is the best model for a

public school in our pluralistic democracy should not be misconstrued to mean that this model is the only acceptable model.

According to Dr. Scott, "The realities of school desegregation in the 1990's emphasize the need to make *Brown* an instrument for providing effective schooling for black students wherever they go to school. We should be concerned about both reducing racial isolation and improving the quality of education. However, when you cannot have both then the emphasis must be on the quality of education. This is basically the remedy that is requested in desegregation plans when certain racially isolated schools cannot be desegregated."

Dr. Scott concluded that legal guidance should be driven primarily by the educational and social interest of black students. In describing certain social imperatives that should undergird desegregation, he explained that, "Society through education attempts to pass on the standards and ideals which society believes are good and necessary for present and future generations. Preparation of students to live in a pluralistic society makes a bi-racial intercultural experience highly desirable. Every



Dr. Ogle Duff, William Taylor, Esq., Dr. Hugh Scott, and Dr. Gary Orfield



Dr. Beverly P. Cole, Dr. Hugh Scott and Mr. Felmers Chaney

public school system should be committed to engendering values and implementing policies that will enhance respect for individuals and the cultures, with the acceptance of the premise that the nation's cultural, racial and ethnic diversity is one of the most valued and significant characteristics of American democracy."

In Louisville/Jefferson County, one of the best desegregated school systems in the country, minority kids still are not achieving. There are problems with academic achievement, racial isolation, and self-esteem.

Desegregation is a necessary but not sufficient condition for educational equality. Regardless of the level of education, the wealth of the district, or the details of the desegregation plan, blacks as a group still perform poorly. The legal strategy should be broadened to include intervention on the basis of a denial of equal education opportunity. For example, there is a need to address how we teach students. We need to be concerned about pedagogical preparedness, expectations, and a commitment to quality and effectiveness. This requires leadership.

Therefore, resegregation is not the answer. There is a continuing effort to use segregation as an instrument of racial oppression in order to keep minorities in a second class status.

Poorly prepared teachers pose a serious problem in primarily African-American schools. Teachers need to have instructional strategies and interpersonal skills adequate to the task of working with diverse student populations. Teacher staff development needs to be an important aspect of the school program, where teachers can learn to teach higher order thinking skills and problem solving techniques.

In addition, African-American students receive an educational program that is different in kind, content and quality from those of whites with the disparity significantly influencing educational achievement and later college enrollment and career options.

The Summit panelists reminded us that there is no panacea, no single remedy for improving schools. All that the courts can do is remove barriers, and create the con-

ditions for change. Legal action opens an opportunity to get school systems responsive. Lawyers cannot create better education. Advocates and practitioners in the school environment have the ultimate power to make schools work once barriers are removed and conditions for change are established. There is a great need for educators and community people to coalesce on this issue. It is the responsibility of the NAACP to identify multiple approaches and make parents and the community aware of what skills are needed for college and job placement.

Conference participants inquired about the issue of equitable funding of schools



Arthur Fletcher, Chairman U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

in urban areas.

For examples of interdistrict funding, one can look to Texas, New Jersey, and Kentucky for guidance. Washington, DC's *Hobson V. Hansen* case also gives an example of remediating intradistrict disparities in resource distribution.

Suburbanization has left the cities without jobs, middle class workers, and the tax base to adequately fund education. There is a need for funding across district lines, and jobs across lines. Because of these factors, an argument needs to be made for a metropolitan desegregation plan



Michael Sussman, Esq.

for urban schools. Such plans exist in Wilmington, Delaware; Indianapolis, Indiana, and Louisville, Kentucky. Access and equity are the guiding principles. Challenging suburbs to participate voluntarily is a partial answer, while litigation is a back-up strategy. Such metropolitanization provides an opportunity to remove racial barriers. Communities involved would be included on county planning boards, and in obtaining guarantees on jobs and access to resources.

There is a need to get involved in the shaping of regulations that control the flow of funds and programs from Washington and the states, into local school districts and classrooms. One participant expressed the belief that funding for education programs (e.g. Chapter 1 and Special Education) is driven by school failure and should be allocated to three levels of need: progression to grade level, maintenance at grade level, and opportunities for accelerated programs. In the current system, if children improve, they become ineligible for program funding. Attention should be directed to the state and local governments for funding help, since together, they provide 94% of school funding.

Lobbying efforts need to be concentrated on the *Reauthorization of the Higher Education Act*, with an increase in Pell Grants so that more students are not forced to acquire loans and attend two-year rather than four-year colleges. Support for colleges that

educate minorities and the poor should be protected. Dropout prevention programs are needed. Fair housing enforcement needs support since housing discrimination affects desegregation efforts. We should watch how choice is implemented. Head Start programs work and are needed for pre-school children, as well as Chapter 1. We should participate in the reshaping of this legislation. We should also pay attention to the courts, which can quietly undermine our efforts. There is a need for increased recruitment and retention of Black teachers, especially mathematics and science teachers. 'America 2000' has the appearance of neutrality. However, the plan does not include us. We must insert ourselves in the plan.

In addition to court cases, legislation, direct action, and participation, another solution involves personal commitment from parents at home, or the friendly sustained attention of some other adult. This type of commitment embraces such themes as: role models, support systems, parenting skills, self-esteem, self-pride, discipline and other values.

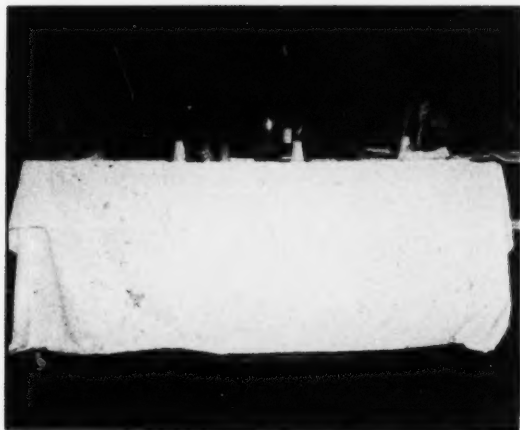
There is resistance to deal directly with issues of equal access to quality education for all children. Black suspensions and expulsions are two-to-three times that of other students. Not 1% of gifted program slots are occupied by blacks. This is not equal access. We will not have eliminated the vestiges of segregation and discrimina-

tion until academics, discipline, and assignments to special education programs and the like are meted out on an equal basis.

VI. SECOND AND THIRD GENERATION DESEGREGATION (WITHIN SCHOOL SEGREGATION AND UNEQUAL EDUCATIONAL OUTCOMES)

Drs. Asa Hilliard, III, Lamar Miller, Willis Hawley, Mary Hoover and Atty. Michael Sussman discussed issues of tracking, curricula, the achievement gap, grade retention, suspensions and expulsions, special education classes, extra-curricula activities, teacher expectations, and the African-American teacher shortage in the context of school desegregation.

The first generation desegregation issue dealt with the elimination of segregated, separate and unequal schools. Student assignment plans were implemented to eliminate racial isolation and to create "racial balance."



Dr. Lamar Miller, Dr. Mary Hoover, Dr. Asa Hilliard, Dr. Willis Hawley and Michael Sussman, Esq.

Attorney Michael Sussman suggested that enough laws were on the books to make arguments to foster successful achievement in these areas. He was emphatic that in order to achieve the results envisioned, citizens interested in desegregation and equity in policies and practices would have to become activated in order to force school people to be responsive. Racial balance, equal access, achievement gaps, and gaps in the incentive and reward structures in schools (as in society) need to be addressed by citizen direct action.

Desegregation activists have divided their discussions about this issue into "generations" which express the primary character of the problems that need to be addressed. In any of the more than five hundred (500) open desegregation cases, the problems of each of these "generations" are likely to co-exist.

The first generation desegregation issue dealt with the elimination of segregated, separate and unequal schools. Student assignment plans were implemented to eliminate racial isolation and to create "racial balance". This period was very difficult, yet, where desegregation is working, it set the stage for mutual engagement and participation on school issues of common interest. It is only now in the last fifteen years that the payoffs of desegregation are appearing. Data now exists which shows that desegregated settings have been beneficial for minority children, although the gains have been costly.

The second generation desegregation issues are focused on within school segregation, such as unequal access to courses and programs; and student placement into course sequences that do not lead to higher, educational attainment. The call is for the elimination of policies and practices which lead to isolation or differential treatment based on the racial, sexual, or cultural characteristics of the learner. The frequency and severity of discipline referrals, suspensions, and expulsions are considered. Also important are long-term grouping practices that favor one group over another in a discriminatory fashion: assignments to special education vs. gifted classes, vocational programs vs. college prep programs, and unequal access to special programs and resources—good

teachers, challenging curricula, etc.

Dr. Mary Hoover emphasized that we have obtained access to school buildings in most cases, but that we have a long way to go before we achieve access to equal educational opportunity.

Access to desegregated and diverse cultural groups within classrooms aids intergroup understanding. The absence of administrators and teachers of diverse cultures negatively impacts black, white and other students. Sussman indicated that these divisions perpetuate economic stratification, delusions of grandeur by whites, and feelings of inferiority by blacks. Increasingly, students must learn to operate in world where diversity is the norm.

Tracking results in one or more of the types of isolation listed above. Grade retention is another damaging way of denying access to minorities, especially males, and is also a good predictor of school drop-outs. It is a counter productive activity that is very costly to society.

Third generation desegregation issues deal with unequal educational outcomes. A critical issue is the "achievement gap" that exists in classroom performance and on standardized tests. Another important issue is the elimination of gaps in incentive and reward structures in schools. These issues address the following questions: Who performs at or above grade level? Who is placed in the gifted and talented classes? Who gets the "A"? Who gets "honors"? Who gets what scholarships, and how to assure equal outcomes from equal efforts in the classroom?

The quality of the teaching staff and educational leadership are significant contributors to the problems of unequal outcomes. Moreover, the belief systems, and instructional repertoires of teachers are key factors in student achievement. School administrators must create techniques to improve teaching skills and attitudes, and remove systemic barriers to academic success, such as over reliance on biased testing, and the use of racist curricula, complete with distortions and omissions.

Teachers must have the attitude and belief that all students can learn. They must be sensitive to cultural diversity. A multicultural curriculum should be adopted which is based on truths rather

than cultural fictions. Higher order thinking skills should be incorporated throughout the curriculum. Testing should be scrutinized to eliminate cultural, linguistic, and gender bias.

Administrators, as instructional leaders, should provide the necessary opportunities for teachers to improve their skills, instructional repertoires, and expectations for students in order to eliminate the achievement gap that exists between African-American and white students. Individual attention must be provided to all students as a necessity in eliminating the gap.

Dr. Asa Hilliard reported on classrooms where pre-schoolers were reading. These minority children were not only reading, but they were speaking Spanish and Swahili, in addition to English. In another setting, sixth graders were explaining the Pythagorean theorem and computing trigonometric functions of sine, cosine, and tangent for a right triangle.

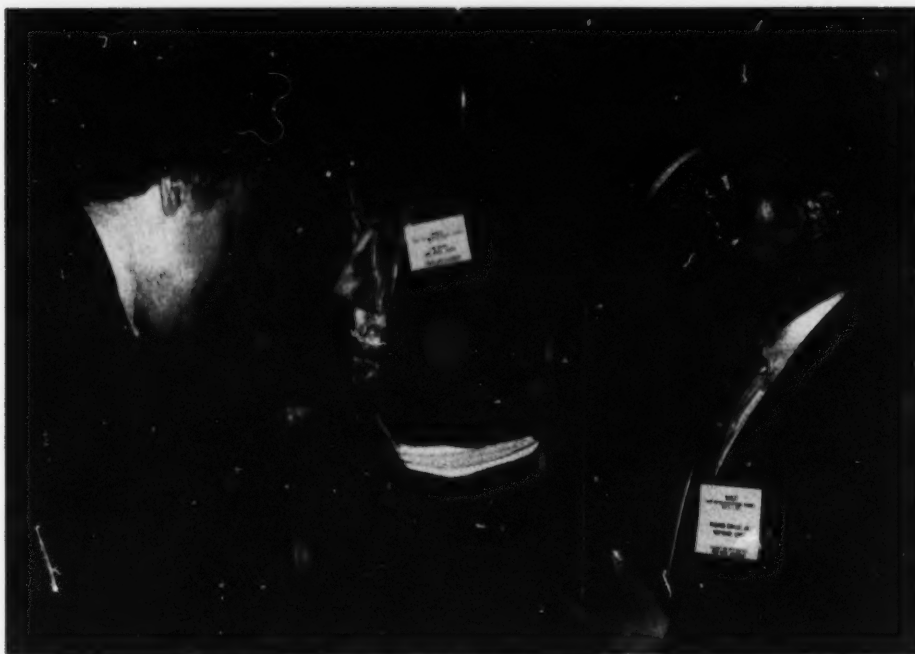
At the Oakland (California) Community School, a pocket of urban poverty with students labeled "difficult to teach" or labeled "problems", standardized test scores are well above the nation's average in everything.

The SEED program (Special Elementary Education for the Disadvantaged) was responsible for the level of involvement in

The quality of the teaching staff and educational leadership are significant contributors to the problems of unequal outcomes. Moreover, the belief systems, and instructional repertoires of teachers are key factors in student achievement.

mathematics for the sixth graders. Project SEED has trained over 1,000 teachers to use its process over the last twenty years. The children in the other settings also had instructors and programs that were effective. This is evidence that our children can and do learn. There are other models that should be investigated that can improve the skills of teachers and the outcomes for learners. Dr. Hilliard succinctly stated that the schools which are succeeding do not use IQ tests and do not use tracking.

There are popular school improvement



Dr. Gary Orfield, Mrs. Ina Boone, Wade Henderson and Edward Hailes

processes that promote equal outcomes. They include the James Comer Process of School Improvement and Effective Schools Processes and Accelerated Learning. These processes typically include parent involvement, a belief that all students can learn, staff development for teachers, frequent assessment of student learning for diagnostic purposes, clearly articulated school goals, and a safe, orderly school environment. Different models exist around the country and they should be replicated.

There are also models of effective staff development, or re-education, such as that used by the University of Chicago, and Chicago State, and the University of Illinois Northeast, to teach Comparative World Literature to Junior High School teachers. The best professors are used to teach the course. The process is reportedly transformational for teachers as well as for the Full Professors who interact in the course. Teacher classroom performance improves. These new approaches are needed, for at the present time accreditation legitimizes certain professional practices that are dysfunctional.

The panelists were concerned that in America, there is not the will for

commitment for children of color to succeed in school. Those in charge of the learning process are either hostile or indifferent to the task. At this point, there is perhaps a limited role seen for the judiciary. Mother, fathers, NAACP branch personnel, and other advocates must use direct action with school boards to get educational results.

While many suggest utilization of the current laws to address second and third generation educational issues, Dr. Hoover suggests that a new case can be made for "educational malpractice" in order to address program segregation and the achievement gap, given our new knowledge of what can work for students. We must make it a rule that teachers must teach effectively. It was noted that the National Teachers' Exam, which is used for teacher certification, has zero correlation with one's classroom performance as a teacher. Teachers who do not possess the repertoire to teach diverse students to read and write should not be certifiable.

Advocates, such as the NAACP, should be involved in the creation of tests. Questions such as: Are test items tied in with effective instruction? Is there a balance of



Dr. Robert Green

items that rely on European culture with those that rely on knowledge of other cultural groups and cultural values? should be asked.

Dr. Lamar Miller felt that all changes or strategies need to tie directly to the things that teachers value, since they are the key to improving school results. Teacher expectations are related to attitudes, beliefs and values of certain socially defined symbols. It determines the interaction between the teacher and student when it is thought that the student is slow or bright.

While parent involvement is not critical for a school to do its job with learners, certain types of parental involvement are useful, according to a research review by Dr. Hawley. He cited the following examples:

- teaching parents to teach their children and to monitor homework
- gaining parents as allies with teachers in rewarding and denying certain behaviors (home-based reinforcement program)
- meeting with parents in the neighborhood homes or institutions (taking schools to parents).
- teaching parents to monitor the

following:

1. Curriculum content
2. Course selection and placement
3. Quality of teaching personnel
4. The breadth of learning styles addressed
5. Development of critical thinking; not just basic skills
6. Placement in special education

- In terms of pedagogy, these approaches have proven effective:

- a curriculum infused with cultural diversity (The Minnesota State Board of Education requires multicultural education as part of each school's curriculum)

- cooperative learning teams
- multi-ability classroom approaches
- avoiding competitive student evaluation schemes
- interactive teaching rather than teacher-dominated instruction
- peer tutoring
- multi-aged classrooms and learning groups.
- early childhood education for all

How to reduce suspensions and expulsions:

- establish practices that promote an orderly environment
- clearly articulated rules
- consistent, aggressive enforcement of established rules
- in-school suspension programs when needed
- environments that emphasize academic achievement for all - opportunities to question fairness of the rules and of their enforcement.

If we ask questions of a pedagogical nature, we can now find answers and techniques that will get us closer to our goal of equal outcomes. What is needed is the will and the fortitude to systematically

attack the problems. Society is implicated in the problem. A system that exhibits significant gaps in achievement should not be called unitary. The system should be required to show proof of academic achievement of all minorities. Any gap is a vestige of past discrimination. Courts are abdicating responsibility if they are unwilling to monitor school improvement. Sussman noted that the Judge in the Yonkers case did not order rectification of education inequality, although it was requested.

*(Refer to Newburg consent decree for legal alternatives)

Governors, state departments of education, school boards and superintendents should be made liable for school performance. We need to push harder on doctrines that already exist, using what we know about learning. We should look to the courts as the last resort since courts have become increasingly conservative and less interested in intruding into the school domain.

Too much focus has been on racial balance. Political pressure has to be applied to gain high student achievement. Constructive actions must be taken, because they are good for children—all children.

He wanted to confront the system and change it because he believed that success was due him. He said: "What is absolutely certain is that you are required to do the very best that you can. You have the obligation regardless of economic circumstance, race or sex to achieve excellence."



Dr. William Moore

SCHOOL DESEGREGATION: A PERSONAL PERSPECTIVE

Ernest Green - (Personal viewpoints from one of the Little Rock Nine who integrated Central High School, in Little Rock, Arkansas in 1957).

Mr. Green attempted to answer the ubiquitous question, Why You? What made you want to go to Central High School and endanger your life?

He responded: "The real heroes and heroines were the parents. They were the courageous ones who watched their children go out not knowing whether they would return." Those courageous parents had instilled in their children certain values that guided them then and are still guiding them to this day. Green indicated that he and his siblings had to achieve. The standard might be hard but they would be there to support them."

Green's parents also taught him that he was somebody and deserved to be treated as a human being; that he deserved equal protection under the law because he was one of God's children. Those values, coupled with the belief that he could change conditions around him, armed him with the necessary weapons to challenge the system and the inferior conditions of black schools.

He wanted to confront the system and change it because he believed that success was due him. He said: "What is absolutely certain is that you are required to do the very best that you can. You have the obligation regardless of economic circumstance, race or sex to achieve excellence."

Mr. Green implored that the educators and civil rights activists at the Summit remember who their clients are - the young children and asked them to do what is best for them. He also stated that the government is going to be involved less and less in desegregation issues because of scarce resources, and that they must all be expected to help shoulder the burden. "We must fashion some idea of hope - a belief that tomorrow will be a little better than today." He indicated that he was grateful that he had been given the necessary foundation to succeed, but that it was his own motivation and hope for a better life that had propelled him to where he is today.

In conclusion Mr. Green stated, "Nothing

is more central to our community than the issue of education. We must learn how to use it and not abuse it, and have kids go forward and make the best out of a premium franchise."

VI. CHOICE

Drs. Ethyl Simon-McWilliams, Robert L. Green, and Charles L. Beady, Jr. and James Hall, Esq. discussed "Choice". Included in the discussion were controlled choice, magnet schools, voucher plans, and black male schools as a choice option.

What is "Choice"? Dr. Ethel Simon-McWilliams defines the various choice options as follows: Choice is intended to provide greater choice or selection in the educational system - to permit and assist parents in freely choosing the schools their children will attend. There are choice options proposed only for the public school system and choice options proposed for private and parochial schools, as well.

A. Public School System

1. Choice within the building - This option suggests the possibility of having "schools within schools or mini-schools offering varied programs."

2. Choice within the district - Often referred to as magnet schools - completely

Without safeguards, when minority students enter certain schools under a choice plan there is a chance that they will be as underserved as when they attended their sending school.

separate schools devoted to certain specialties.

Magnet schools as choice options in desegregating settings produce problems for the system. To the degree that students are self-selecting, and more economically advantaged, magnets decrease the social and economic diversity in non-magnet schools.

Dr. Hoover indicated that not only did

scores go down in Richmond, California when money was wasted on magnet schools, but the district went bankrupt as a result.

3. Controlled Choice - a plan devised for school desegregation, allows the students to select their first, second or third school preference within a certain zone. The determination would be based on the demographic profile of the school.

B. Private and Parochial Schools

Private school education is not a right but an option, an expensive one, which the public should not have to support. With this plan there is no guarantee that the educational needs and desires of either the student or the parents will be better served.

Private schools as choice options, have to take the full responsibility for educating the students that they enroll. They should not expect to be able to "send them back" to public schools in the face of potential failure. They must be obligated to perform as well as public schools.

In terms of church-related schools, this option is an attempt to circumvent the constitution which requires the separation of church and state.

Without safeguards, when minority students enter certain schools under a choice plan there is a chance that they will be as underserved as when they attended their sending school.

4. Interdistrict Choice - permits the crossing of school district lines to enable parents/students to choose from a wider range of educational options. In this plan transportation, the possibilities of uninformed parental choice, the likelihood of resegregation, and the draining of financial and human resources from districts that are already deprived, become severe problems.

C. Guidelines

For Choice to work well, it must include:

- A clear statement of goals and objectives for all schools and their students;
- Information and counseling to help parents select among various programs for their children;
- Student assignments and transfer poli-

cies that do not discriminate against students on the basis of past achievement or behavior;

- Nondiscriminatory admissions policies that draw from a wide spectrum of students, not "first-come, first-served" admissions, or high test scores only

- Encouragement and assistance for most schools within a given geographic area to develop distinctive features, rather than simply a concentration of resources in a few schools;

- Opportunities for educators in the schools themselves to create programs;

- Available transportation within a reasonable area for all students, with a priority given to those coming from low-income and non-English-speaking families;

- Procedures that promote more desegregation and integration among students; and,

- Provisions for continuing oversight and modification.

(excerpted from "Issues Analysis: Public Schools of Choice".)

D. Problems

The critics of choice list three major problems: 1) The proposed privatization of public education; 2) the free market-model "which uses competition as a force for restructuring where good schools would

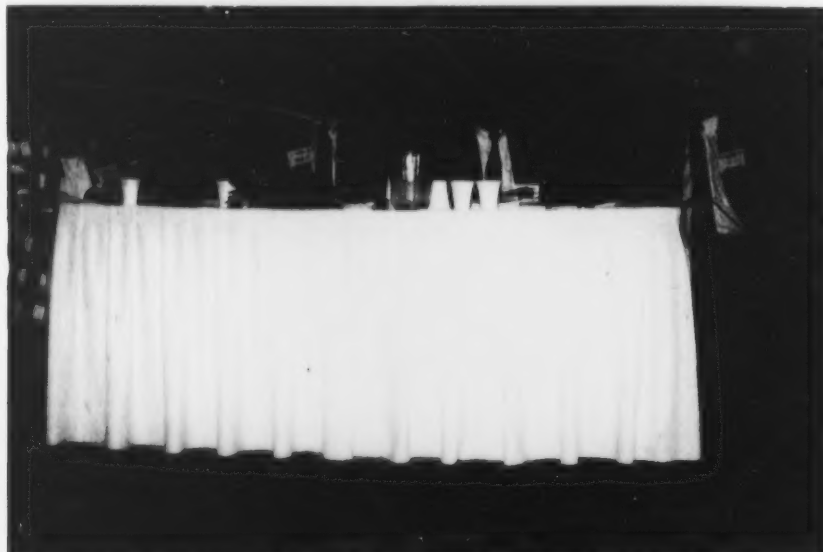
thrive and the inefficient schools would just disappear without explaining what will happen to the children who attend them, and 3) Choice is seen as a way to subvert

There are examples of practices that work for students that can be relied upon—within the choice context—to produce results.

racial and socio-economic integration."

The NAACP has developed a list of choice guidelines that draw attention to the requirements of schools within desegregated settings. These safeguards are recommended to NAACP branches when designing, implementing, and evaluating Choice and Magnet Programs. For example:

"Those interested must make sure that the student and staff composition closely reflect the racial and ethnic composition of the system; that external monitoring systems be implemented that will prevent re-segregation and deprivation of services and resources in non-choice/Magnet school and programs; that the location of facilities be chosen for their racial, ethnic, and socio-economic neutrality to insure desegregation; that high socio-economic students and



Dr. Ethel Simon-McWilliams, James Hall, esq., Dr. Robert L. Green and Dr. Charles Beady

the academically talented are not all drawn away from neighborhood schools; etc."

There are examples of practices that work for students that can be relied upon—within the choice context—to produce results. Our focus must be on including the features in choice systems that

One major concern about the African-American male schools is that they could become dumping grounds for the poorest students who do not have the support of their families, together with the lack of assurance of their mobility.

serve our purposes of producing quality, non-discriminatory educational opportunities for young people, without undermining public education.

E. Models

Dr. Charles Beady described The Piney Woods Country Life School, a historically black boarding school founded in 1909, fifty (50) miles from Jackson, Mississippi. Piney Woods existed long before Ron Edmonds wrote about effective schools, yet the current administration of the school subscribes to Effective Schools tenets. The school has single-sex classes in the elementary school, nongraded classes, and requires uniforms, attendance at religious services, and fifteen hours of work each week to instill the work ethic. Dr. Beady defines "high expectations", a tenet of effective schools advocates as another way of saying, "nothing succeeds like success."

Dr. Green shared some data which address the socio-cultural background out of which the drive for all male, African-

Attorney James Hall of Milwaukee, Wisconsin described the new voucher program that was being appealed to the Wisconsin Supreme Court. This plan differed from the traditional voucher program in that it could not be used for religious schools, and that it was specifically designed for 1,000 poor students who would receive \$2,500 to be used at private schools which met certain criteria.

American schools was born.

For African-Americans, particularly males, the playing field is seldom level. Attitudes, practices, and policies have set conditions in society that affect how students achieve. A large percent of urban black males did not complete high school last year. We may be able to change that if we can create an accepting environment, and emphasize the development of character.

Dr. Green stated that the purpose of the black male school is to reclaim black males from the streets, prisons, from a culture of defeatism and self-destruction. He also stated that it should be tried on an experimental basis with the ultimate goal being a multicultural and multi-racial society.

One major concern about the African-American male schools is that they could become dumping grounds for the poorest students who do not have the support of their families, together with the lack of assurance of their mobility. The problem multiplies since low income parents are least able to be advocates for their children. Other criticisms of all-black male schools are that they segregate in practice, and is thereby, antithetical to the Brown decision. Critics also say they are not based on research, and that withdrawal from the mainstream will not equip black males to perform at a higher level than direct engagement would.

Dr. Hugh Scott believes that all-black male schools deal with the symptoms, and not the causes of the problem. It is doing the wrong thing for the right reasons. He asked, "Why can't a specially trained cadre of teachers be put in a setting to serve African-American males and others?" It was also noted that the school district in Milwaukee, which wants to adopt all-black male classes, did not have enough black male teachers to staff one elementary school.

Attorney James Hall of Milwaukee, Wisconsin described the new voucher program that was being appealed to the Wisconsin Supreme Court. This plan differed from the traditional voucher program in that it could not be used for religious schools, and that it was specifically designed for 1,000 poor students who would receive \$2,500 to be used at private schools which met certain criteria. This voucher

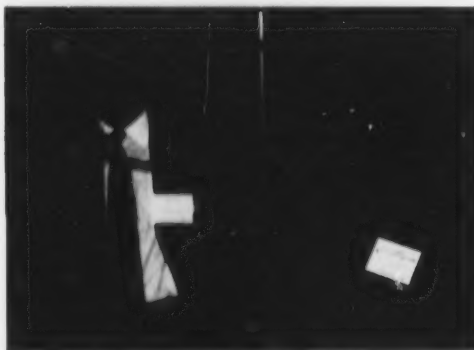


Judge Robert Carter, Michael Middleton, Esq., and William Taylor, Esq.



Dennis Hayes

No longer can a plaintiff go to the judge for ruling or determination on all.



J. Howard Henderson and Dr. Mabel Murray plan, though it may sound as if it is the correct thing to do, will actually increase inequity by taking much needed funds away from the public school.

Dr. Hawley stated that research has

shown that choice will cause social stratification and that magnets actually diminish the range of academic programs or educational opportunity in other schools. It has been shown that there is a flow of academic rigor - a siphoning off of good teachers, good students and resources - toward magnet schools, especially if they are selective, and if they cause a reduction in the incentives for students to work hard in the other so called regular schools.

In all discussions of choice, there is a need for more specifics before ample evaluation can take place. The evaluation is simpler, however, when we have guidelines for what we would like a school to be. In the most ideal world, we should make schools work where we are. Educational choice is unequal and inequitable until a common base of academic excellence is achieved for all schools within a district. As one participant put it, choice should be about making every school an excellent institution of learning so there is true choice for everyone.

VII. HIGHER EDUCATION

Drs. Reginald Wilson, Elias Blake and William Moore discussed desegregation and other related issues in higher education. The key case in higher education desegregation is the *Adams* case. John Quincy Adams of Mississippi brought the case against Elliot Richardson, then- H.E.W. Secretary, on behalf of his children. Several higher education cases preceded the *Brown* decision and set the stage for *Brown*. In higher education, prior to *Brown*, there had been litigation on access to graduate school and law school.

The *Brown* decision (May 17, 1954) found that a dual system of education is inherently unequal; *Brown II* established that inequalities must be eliminated with all deliberate speed, and in 1968, the *Green* decision established that school systems must eliminate all vestiges of discrimination - root and branch. The NAACP successfully argued that any organization in violation of Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 cannot receive federal funds. Based on these pieces of law, ten (10) states



Dr. Reginald Wilson, Dr. William Moore and Dr. Elias Blake were ordered to dismantle dual systems of higher education. The *Adams* case forced the Department of Education to enforce law that was on the books; it did not establish new law.

The *Adams* case, unlike *Brown*, was never appealed to the Supreme Court. Enforcement of its provisions are not by a court, but by a government agency. There is no clear judgment as to whether good faith efforts or the elimination, root and branch, of all vestiges of discrimination is the standard for compliance. The Mississippi case now before the Supreme Court will determine this. Judge Pratt in the Washington, D.C. District Court became the ultimate arbiter of the first *Adams* decision in 1973 - which was argued by the Legal Defense Fund. Ultimately, nineteen (19) states came under the jurisdiction of *Adams*. In 1988, Judge Pratt discontinued the case. The Legal Defense Fund appealed that decision in 1989 positing that the goals of the case had not been met. The Education Department was given the right to determine whether a good faith effort had taken place and whether the suit should be dismissed.

Now Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act must be used to enforce compliance. Individual systems must be taken to court. No longer can a plaintiff go to the judge for ruling or determination on all. This has the effect of dissipating efforts and is less efficient. In addition, this decision has the defendant, the Department of Education, determine its own guilt and punishment. If the Department of Education had followed their own legal requirements under Title VI they would not have been the defendant.

Because the case did not go to the Supreme Court, there is no national definition of what higher education desegregation means. In racial balance terms, Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) with 17 percent non-black enrollments are still called black schools, whereas majority white institutions with less than 4 percent non-white student bodies are called desegregated. There is a lack of clarity in the courts on what constitutes a desegregated school.

As parts of state desegregated college systems, historically black colleges have been required to merge and coordinate their programs with those of other regional colleges. Duplications of degree programs and courses were supposed to be eliminated. Dual degree programs were sometimes created at paired institutions. Attractive programs were supposed to be added to black campuses to draw white students. *Adams* required that the dual system be dismantled, that dual governing boards be abolished, that there be faculty development, and that facilities be enhanced. These consent decrees were seldom implemented. Staff and administrative desegregation, as well as student desegregation are supposed to be achieved, although



Dr. Beverly P. Cole



many historically black colleges have had racially and culturally diverse staffing since their inception.

College admissions standards, and testing requirements have been increased in the ten (10) *Adams* states with desegregation. The net effect of this provision has been a reduction in the college-going rates for all students, including black and poor students.

In Mississippi, higher admissions standards have caused a drop in college enrollment. In traditionally black colleges, admissions are set on the reality of need for compensatory treatment. In a challenge to the increased test score requirements, the presiding judge said that the state did not intend to be discriminatory. (One observer noted that the standards were initially set in 1962 in order to limit the access of blacks when James Meredith went to the University of Mississippi).

Such standards, formally created to bar the unprepared from college, diminish the educational opportunities for blacks by putting in barriers after opening the doors. Blacks are left with deprivation and no redress in the courts. What desegregation should do is to make up for educational deprivation and denial, and should be precluded from diminishing opportunity for blacks.

Desegregation has also had the effect of jeopardizing the existence and missions of Historically Black Colleges and Universities. The continuing issues will be those of mission, funding, and identity. Black colleges have been important in educating teachers, doctors and lawyers that make up the American middle class. With changes in student mix, historically black colleges



Dr. Benjamin L. Hooks

must struggle with whether or not their missions must be changed. At one HBCU, Southern University, this issue is resolved by having three major thrusts: honors programs, regular programs and remedial programs.

Dr. William Moore, the president at Southern, admits that desegregation has been a difficult battle. The *Adams* decision allowed for review of academic programs, facilities, enhancement of faculty, new capital outlays, and the establishment of cooperative, dual degree programs. Southern worked with Louisiana State University. The idea was to create high demand programs on a well maintained campus to attract more whites. Similar plans were implemented in Virginia and in Texas.

The promises of the desegregation plan have not been realized. Faculty took advantage of the faculty development feature — one half of the participants received doctorates. Of \$200 million dollars scheduled for capital outlays, only one half of the amount was spent. Programs were never funded at an adequate level. The Nursing program and the Computer Science programs were well received. Building renovations were approved but not executed. New education and social science buildings were not built, which stifled growth of the university. A doctoral program was added. Moreover, these consent decreed changes were to occur during what was the worst economic downturn. Funds for enhancement became survival funds. Southern University bore the largest expenses in the



Mr. Ernest Green

desegregation process.

The period between 1964 and 1972 was the most explosive growth period for blacks in higher education. But since the Reagan years, the conservative and racial climate has done little to support blacks in the struggle to get a college education. Declining numbers of students are attending college, particularly black males. One can see a bitterness and alienation of black students on campus, which is resulting in high attrition rates.

If entry into college is problematic, leaving college with the B.A. is also a challenge. Between 1980 and 1986, the graduation rates (within 6 years of college entry) for blacks was 27 percent vs. 51 percent for whites. Other black stakeholders within the current higher education movement are at risk.



Dr. Gibson, Mrs. Bates and Rev. A.C. Sutton

For black faculty in desegregating colleges, tenure and promotions have been a problem which has been tracked by the American Council on Education for the past ten years. There is a significant difference in tenure attainment. The likelihood of permanence on college faculties for blacks is not there. For engineering faculty, for example, only 45 percent of blacks get professorships versus 65 percent for whites.

Black students need to be encouraged to get Ph.D.s and to become professors. They need to be mentored into the culture of peer review work so that they are prepared for work in our research universities. Black students need some type of mentoring. By 1998, not many black professors will be around.

Our black college students who are athletes need to be guaranteed a college



Mrs. Willye Dennis and Mrs. Daisy Bates

education. It is necessary to put pressure on revenue sources, to force colleges to provide student athletes with high quality academic advisors, essential to regular class attendance, tutoring, and monitoring of academic progress through graduation.

Black colleges were not willing partners in segregation. White colleges were willing partners. If courts had not compelled them to, most white colleges would not take black students. The segregated feeder system to colleges was intentionally designed to produce inequities and to be intentionally destructive of the hopes of a people.

With desegregation, what is and has been at risk is the destruction of black high schools and black colleges – without replacement. By 1972, all good black high schools had been closed or downgraded.



Dr. Asa Hilliard

Historically Black Colleges and Universities, if not vigilant, will face a similar plight.

We need fully desegregated colleges to help educate Americans of color. Historically Black Colleges and Universities cannot be expected to solve the total problems of access to higher education for black students. HBCUs could accommodate only 25 percent of the black college population, if they alone had to educate black America. Desegregated colleges need to be responsive to the needs of their newly diverse student populations. There are federal policies that promote this intention. Executive Order 11246 and the Civil Rights Act supports diversity. One measure of quality is diversity in each college's faculty, student body, board of directors, and administration.

The lessons from successful historically black colleges should not be lost as we seek to reorganize and to improve higher education.

**VIII. "THIRTY-SEVEN YEARS
AFTER BROWN"
DAISY BATES DINNER -
JUDGE ROBERT L. CARTER**

The participants at the Daisy Bates Education Summit discussed and analyzed various facets of educa-

tional programs, policies, trends, and strategies to determine their worth and feasibility in furthering the NAACP's basic goal of ensuring equal educational opportunity for this and future generations of black youth.

Equal educational opportunity for black youth has been one of the primary goals of the NAACP since its founding. It became a fundamental objective of the NAACP's legal program in the mid 1930's, culminating in the 1950's in *Sweatt v. Painter*, which outlawed segregation at the



Dr. Beverly P. Cole and J. Howard Henderson

law school level; *McLaurin v. University of Oklahoma*, which banned segregation at the graduate school level; and *Brown v. Board of Education*, which struck down segregation in the nation's public schools and rejected the separate but equal doctrine that had given legitimacy to the segregation system. While the *Brown* decision remains at the pinnacle of American



*Ernest
Green*

jurisprudence, it has not fulfilled our hopes of providing equal educational opportunity for black children. Instead of giving *Brown* an expansive reading, courts early on sought to limit and restrict its reach. In *Briggs v. Elliott*, the South Carolina case covered in the *Brown* opinion, Judge Parker concluded that: "The Constitution does not require integration, it merely forbids discrimination." The message this conveyed to the public was that there was no obligation to move from segregation to integration; the elimination of mandated segregation sufficed.

Today, there are more black children attending all-Black public schools than was true prior to 1954, and the failure of the nation to provide even a semblance of equal educational opportunity for blacks and other poor minority children has now reached crises proportions.

Yet, the landscape is not as barren as it appears. We need to rid ourselves of despair and hopelessness. Some of us have accepted beliefs that are lies: for example, that the lack of parent participation, or the lack of adequate books in the home is a cause for failure when, with high quality caring and programs, poor children can achieve. We have all heard examples of poor children achieving in spite of the lack of parent participation and the lack of adequate books in the home. Therefore, we still must have cause for hope.

We should also not settle for gimmicks. The latest of these gimmicks is segregated schools for black males. We should not settle for this brand of segregation out of desperation and frustration, thirty-seven years after *Brown*. Does anyone believe that the same system will do better for black men now, when it has failed them before? Our people are willing to resort to gimmicks because they want answers.

Our black college students who are athletes need to be guaranteed a college education. It is necessary to put pressure on revenue sources, to force colleges to provide student athletes with high quality academic advisors, essential to regular class attendance, tutoring, and monitoring of academic progress through graduation.

The NAACP's pursuit of integrated education as its fundamental objective has not been easy in the past and will not be any easier in the days ahead. However, we should remember that criticism is the price for leadership.

In an Illinois experiment, white teachers in a desegregated school were told that certain of their white students were bright, another group of whites were not bright, and were also told that a group of blacks were bright. At the end of the experiment, the behavior of the teachers towards each of the four groups of students was examined. The "bright" white students got the best treatment, the "not bright" whites got second best treatment, the "not bright" blacks got the third best treatment, and the "bright" blacks got the worst treatment of all. They were more criticized, demeaned, and disciplined than any of the other children. And many of the teachers were young.

In light of such stories, it is no surprise that there is support in the black community for giving up on integration as a goal. Yet, in spite of the incidents of mistreatment and the scars inflicted, the fight for integration cannot be abandoned.

It is time for the next step: meaningful integration. Without modification, accept the black child as an equal and apply the lessons of effective schools. The black child can learn. Teach them and expose them to the same educational challenge as white children. Do not give up on them. Do not assign them to alternative schools or to special classes and expect less from them.

The NAACP must create a national advisory committee to propose policies, strategies and techniques for delivering a quality education to all children.

Litigation, including the feasibility of educational malpractice, should be considered if all else fails. A strong coalition of branch presidents, education chairs with access to experts and scholars should formalize a direct action strategy, with lawyers poised for litigation if the direct action fails.

Judge Carter was confident in his belief that the delivery of real equal educational opportunity is a vital and urgent need of the black community - a survival issue. We can no longer be satisfied with simply

dismantling the structure of segregation. Our goal must be meaningful integration, the delivery of unadulterated, effective and actual equal educational opportunity to black youth in every school district in the country.

IX. POLICIES AND STRATEGIES

The overall policy proposed for the NAACP is one based on the theory that America should not be let off the hook. Our struggles and successes over the past centuries, and particularly those of the last half century, should not be sacrificed because of the setbacks we have experienced over the past years. It is difficult at times. Yet, "the landscape is not

The fight for integration cannot be abandoned. School desegregation has too many positive outcomes in the form of a more open and accepting society for the strategy to be abandoned. We should not ask for things in court that we ourselves cannot live with. A good policy is to seek those measures of relief that are good for all children.

so barren." (Carter).

POLICY GUIDELINES:

1. ACHIEVE AND MAINTAIN MAXIMUM DESEGREGATION

The fight for integration cannot be abandoned. School desegregation has too many positive outcomes in the form of a more open and accepting society for the strategy to be abandoned. We should not ask for things in court that we ourselves cannot live with. A good policy is to seek those measures of relief that are good for all children.

Court ordered desegregation suits shall be maintained until unitary status is achieved. Such status should require that staff, faculty, facilities, students assignments, transportation, and extra curricular activities are desegregated with significant efforts underway to close the achievement gaps and reduce other educational disparities between the races.

In an effort to provide equal educational

opportunity, the NAACP can no longer be satisfied with simply dismantling the structure of segregation. It must also be concerned with providing a quality education for all African-American children, wherever they are in schools, and seek those measures of relief that are good for all children.

The NAACP endorses the full pursuit of desegregation in higher education together with the enhancement of Historically Black Colleges as a significant aspect of these desegregation plans.

Higher education institutions must serve the needs of all students, including those of its minority and black students. Understanding that once segregation is dismantled, we are face-to-face with resistance, rejection, and hostility; we must develop ways to deal with racism in all its forms. We are not sure if desegregated institutions will ever serve us as we would like, but we will not let them off the hook, if they are to maintain legitimacy.

We have to take initiatives for our community to turn underachievement around. We cannot depend on the institutions. We must actively seek to increase our numbers on college campuses and to increase our graduation rates. Desegregation is needed not just for minorities and blacks, but for the overall productivity of our nation.

2. OVERCOME ALL 1ST, 2ND, AND 3RD GENERATION PROBLEMS

The issues of segregation, resegregation, and equity are troubling. We should continue to seek relief in these areas. Unitary status must depend on outcomes that are not traceable solely to the racial characteristics of the student, but to his or her levels of academic achievement, independent of race, sex or social class. We need to employ multiple strategies of educational, legal and direct action.

3. SEEK GOOD SCHOOLS, EFFECTIVE SCHOOLS

We now know that once the conditions are set, and the official barriers are removed, it is up to us to make sure that our schools are performing well, and that our young people are getting the results that they need and deserve. We embrace the

late Ron Edmonds' Effective Schools Tenets, and the Comer Process as models for school improvement. We encourage our membership to adopt and support these models and other proven educational practices for school improvement.

The NAACP reaffirms its opposition to voucher plans such as the one proposed in the President's America 2000, which encourages the use of public funds for private schools. This model has devastating potential for the destruction of public education.

Since the state is constitutionally responsible for the education of all of its residents, the NAACP therefore argues that the state must tax the wealthy wherever they may be for the benefit of all the local school systems.

RECOMMENDED STRATEGIES:

- The NAACP must create a national educational advisory committee to propose the policy strategies and techniques needed to provide a quality education.
- The NAACP must develop a strong coalition of Branch and State Conference Presidents along with Education Chairpersons with access to scholars and other experts to forge a strategy aimed to produce challenging, quality education for African-American students. Lawyers should be prepared for litigation if direct action fails.
- The National NAACP will serve as a clearinghouse for sharing data and resources relevant to school improvement with other Branches.
- The National NAACP endorses and recommends the creation and or joining of local education coalitions to help plan and conduct interventions related to improving public education.
- The NAACP advocates on-site development of effective, desegregated schools for its plaintiffs and all children.
- The National NAACP endorses the full pursuit of desegregation in higher education, and the enhancement of Historically Black Colleges as a significant aspect of these plans.

GOALS FOR HIGHER EDUCATION DESEGREGATION SHOULD INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING:

1. Achieve equal college-enrollment rates.
2. Achieve equal two-year college enrollment rates.
3. Decrease college dropout rates.
4. Increase college completion rates.
5. Change not only racial composition, but increase the African-American and minority college-going rates.
6. Acquire fully funded capital outlays for Historically Black Colleges.
7. Acquire fully funded program enhancements for Historically Black Colleges.
8. Develop preplanned public relations strategies to address negative attitudes and views of the newly desegregated institutions.

In desegregation planning, maintaining the character of traditional black institutions is essential. The following are representative ways to ensure that this happens:

1. Education should produce educated African-Americans and leaders.
2. The special needs of black students and institutions should be taken into account.
3. There should be no undue burdens in the implementation of desegregation plans.
4. Plans should not have the effect of diminishing the opportunities of African-Americans.
5. Compensatory programs should be available to help students recover from poor secondary education.
6. Flexible admission plans which take into consideration more than standardized test scores should be available.
7. High graduation rates (46%) should be maintained.

The following represents important advice to Historically Black Colleges facing desegregation:

1. Be good at what you do.
2. Have a strong community interface.
3. Be able to influence students to take college prep courses. The university has to

assume a role; we cannot rely on parents to know how to get kids into the pipeline.

4. Be political (have a base to support your strategies).

5. Focus politics on the governors, many of which want to be perceived as education governors.

6. Be sensitive to election time policymaking.

Strategies for Elementary and Secondary Education:

1. Promote school policies and practices that emphasize the improvement of teaching and learning in classrooms.

2. Manage the schooling process guided by:

- The principal as the chief instructional leader.
- Strong parental involvement.
- Clear and cooperatively developed goals.
- The use of needs assessment in planning and managing school goals.
- Staff development based on needs assessment and school goals.
- The use of frequent diagnostic testing as an instructional tool.
- A challenging, yet pleasant school environment conducive to learning.

- High expectations for all students.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

• The NAACP will closely monitor the implementation of all court-ordered provisions of desegregation settlements. Many times the language necessary to secure a school improvement is contained in the original remedial court orders.

• Local branches will review school desegregation to ascertain if unitary status has been maintained, and shall monitor the attainment of educational goals related to the achievement of unitary status.

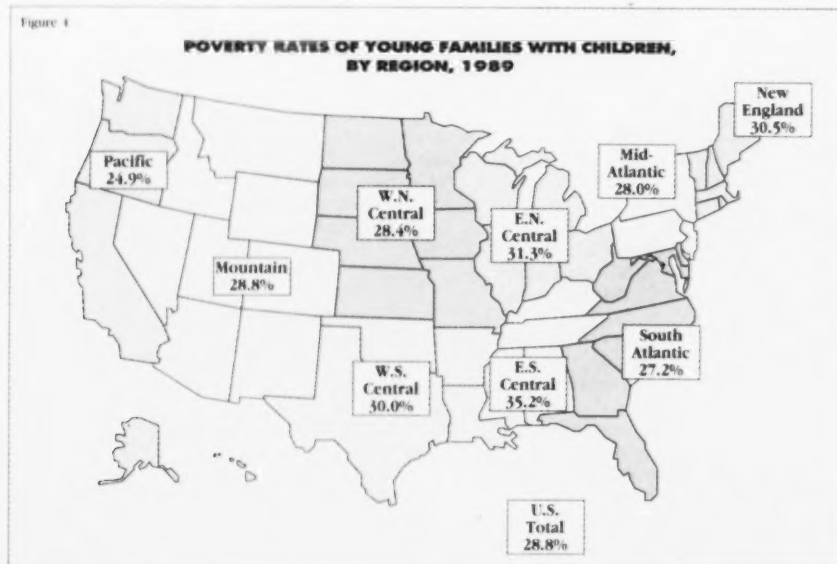
• The Education Department will serve as a clearinghouse for sharing data and resources relevant to school improvement with the Branches.

• Local NAACP Branches will monitor the equitable distribution of funds and resources in the school system.

• The NAACP will promote school policies and practices that emphasize the improvement of teaching and learning in classrooms.

• The Education Department will develop in concert with the local Branch a plan of action for pressuring and

Figure 1



**POVERTY RATES FOR CHILDREN IN
SELECTED GROUPS OF YOUNG
FAMILIES, 1973, 1989, AND 1990**

	1973	1989	1990
Young white families	12.1%	23.6%	27.2%
Young married-couple families	7.9	16.5	19.6
Young families headed by high school graduates	13.1	28.4	32.9

**MEDIAN INCOMES OF YOUNG
FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN BY
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF
FAMILY HEAD, 1973 AND 1990**

(in 1990 dollars)

	1973	1990	Change
High school dropout	\$18,842	\$10,213	-46%
High school graduate	28,410	20,000	-30
Some college	31,710	27,000	-15
College graduate	37,757	38,700	+ 3



Judge Robert Carter and Willie Abrams

persuading school districts to replace current ineffective policies, (e.g. tracking) and developing in their stead effective responses to the existing disparities and inequities.

- The NAACP will encourage the establishment of learning centers after school and on weekends in order to assist with remediation as well as higher order thinking skills.

- NAACP Branches will encourage more staff development training for all teachers and principals so that they might become more knowledgeable about the key ingredients of effective schools.

- NAACP Branches will be urged to develop parenting workshops so that the parents may learn what is required in terms of course selection and other requirements for certain careers and/or college admissions.

- The National NAACP endorses and recommends the creation and/or joining of local education coalitions to help plan and conduct interventions related to improving public education.

- The NAACP must encourage more African-American psychometricians to produce bias free tests, and to serve on those commissions and boards that develop assessment policies.

- NAACP Branches must call upon the services of the Desegregation Assistance Centers.

- The National NAACP must monitor the Department of Defense schools in order to foster affirmative action in the hiring of teachers and administrators, and in terms of the development of a curriculum of inclusion.

- We must learn to use existing laws effectively which requires knowing what they are, what they provide, and how to best use them.

- Educational issues must be translated into everyday language for parents and community persons.

EPILOGUE

Michael A. Middleton, Esq., Professor of Law, University of Missouri-Columbia, in an address to the NAACP Lawyers CLE Seminar in Houston, Texas).

Professor Middleton in summarizing the Daisy Bates Education Summit felt that there was general agreement on the following points: First, despite over thirty years of school desegregation efforts, the racially integrated school systems sought by the NAACP have not been produced to the extent hoped. Second, as stated by Dr. Hugh Scott, "For some black students, school desegregation has resulted in the imposition of an educational environment in which the 'cure' is almost as destructive as the 'disease'". The final point of agreement, which there seemed to be true consensus, was the critical nature of the need for continued and positive action on our parts to understand the true needs of the primary victims, and to effect the change that best meets those needs.

The disagreement at the Summit became apparent in discussions with individuals in an effort to define the positive actions that will best meet those needs. There were those who postulated that since the desegregation effort characterized by racial balance remedies had failed to achieve educational equity for black children, that that effort should be terminated and the focus should be placed on enhancing the quality of education provided in black schools. Others argued that the racial balance approach had not been given the time or the resources to achieve success, and that the effort to integrate America's

education system should be significantly enhanced.

Professor Middleton said, "suffice it to say that we, as an organization and as a people, have yet to come to a conclusion as to which approach, if any, will best enhance the education opportunities of our children. This however, should not be a cause for despair. Some of our greatest minds have been grappling with this dilemma for as long as there have been free blacks in America. W.E.B. DuBois, in 1935, summed up the sentiment that should provide us the necessary guidance as we maintain our engagement with the struggle, and continue to debate this fundamental question. He indicated that black children need "neither segregated schools nor mixed schools. What [they need] is education."

"The important thing is that we remain engaged in the process of ensuring that our children are provided a good education. No one realistically expected the Daisy Bates Education Summit to come to a conclusion regarding the best approach to combat this complex social and legal problem, and indeed, the Summit reached no such conclusion. What the Summit did, however, was to initiate a serious and structured process of re-evaluation of the traditional remedies by the NAACP, the representatives of the primary victims. All concerned agreed that the traditional remedies to date have not borne the fruit initially expected from desegregation efforts, and that continued growth and development in our attitudes and strategies is critical."

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HIGHLIGHTS OF THE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION EXPERIENCES OF THE SUMMIT EXPERTS

DR. CHARLES H. BEADY, JR. is the President of The Piney Woods Country Life School, a historically Black Boarding School founded in 1909 in Jackson, Mississippi. Dr. Beady is a researcher, author, lecturer, professional cartoonist and teacher. He has combined his research and expertise in the area of academic motivation with his talents as a professional cartoonist. He has written, illustrated and produced slide and audio packages and other motivational materials which have been used by student, teacher, and parent groups around the country.

He has authored and co-authored a number of scholarly publications including: Beady, C.H. and Slavin, R.E. "Making Success Available to all Students in Desegregated Schools," *Integrated Education*, 1961; and Beady, C.H. and Hansell, S. "Teacher Race and Expectations for Student Achievement," *American Educational Research Journal*, 1981.

DERRICK A. BELL, JR., ESQ. is a Weld Professor of Law at Harvard University. He has been a practitioner and an administrator in the field of civil rights. He teaches, lectures and writes about civil rights and constitutional law.

Mr. Bell's publications include: *And We Are Not Saved: The Elusive Quest for Racial Justice*, (1987); *Race, Racism and American Law*, (2nd ed. 1980); *Shades of Brown: New Perspective on School Desegregation*, (1980) and *Foreword: The Civil Rights Chronicles*, (1986). His articles have been published in several books, and have appeared in the legal journals at Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Michigan, Berkeley, the University of Pennsylvania, U.C.A.A., Wisconsin, and others. Mr. Bell has received numerous honorary degrees and is a founding member of the National Conference of Black Lawyers.

DR. ELIAS BLAKE, former president of Clark-Atlanta University for the past 20 years has been instrumental in influencing the nation's policies on equal opportunity in higher education.

Dr. Blake has articulated strategies for

the equalization of higher educational opportunities for African-Americans.

Dr. Blake's work has focused on the importance and impact of the types of education provided students at historically black colleges and universities.

Dr. Blake's publications and articles include: "Color Prejudice and the Education of Low-Income Negroes in the North and West," *Journal of Negro Education*, (1985); "Federal Policy and the Goal of Equal Opportunity," *Beyond Desegregation*, The College Entrance Examination Board, (1978); "The Challenge of Achieving Parity in Higher Education for Black Americans," *Debate and Understanding*, (1979) and "Equality for Blacks: Another Lost Decade or New Surge Forward," *Change*, (1987).

JUDGE ROBERT L. CARTER has had a distinguished legal career beginning in 1944 when he was a Legal Assistant for the NAACP. In 1945, he became Assistant Special Counsel and in 1956 he became the Association's General Counsel. Judge Carter argued and won 21 of the 22 cases before the United States Supreme Court.

In 1972 Judge Carter was nominated for appointment to the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of New York by President Nixon. He also served as special assistant to the U.S. attorney for the Southern District of New York while on leave from the NAACP.

Judge Carter was one of the senior partners in the prestigious New York law firm of Poletti, Freidin, Prashker, Feldman & Gartner from 1967 to 1972.

Judge Robert Carter served as counsel in the landmark U.S. Supreme Court case of *Brown vs. Board of Education* and his role was portrayed in the recently televised production of *Separate But Equal*.

DR. OGLE E. BURKS DUFF is Associate Professor of Education at the University of Pittsburgh. She was Director of the Race Desegregation Assistance Center at the University of Pittsburgh from 1975 to 1987. Her responsibilities included the administering of a Title IV Program funded by the United States Department of Educa-

tion to provide training, consultative services, and technical assistance to eligible school districts in Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland which were experiencing problems with school desegregation.

Dr. Duff has served as an expert witness on school desegregation in many cases. Her publications include: *Community Involvement in a Desegregated Setting* (1978) and *Desegregation: Methods for Implementation* (1977).

ARTHUR A. FLETCHER, ESQ. was appointed chairman of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights in February, 1990. Mr. Fletcher is president of Arthur A. Fletcher and Associates, a management consulting firm in Maryland. He served as the Assistant Secretary of Labor for Employment Standards from 1969 to 1971, as alternate delegate to the 26th session of the United Nations General Assembly in 1971, and as Deputy Assistant to the President for Urban Affairs from 1976-77.

In 1954, while teaching in a rural elementary school in Kansas, Mr. Fletcher helped raise money for the then pending *Brown vs. School Board of Topeka* desegregation suit.

ERNEST G. GREEN was appointed Senior Vice President of Shearson Lehman Brothers, now Shearson Lehman Hutton Inc. in 1987. Mr. Green joined Shearson Lehman's Infrastructure Group serving a variety of major American municipalities. Prior to accepting his position, Mr. Green served as President of Ernest Green & Associates, Inc., a firm which he founded in 1981. From 1977 through 1981, Mr. Green held the post of Assistant Secretary of Labor for Employment and Training, U.S. Department of Labor.

He has served on the Board of the Directors of the NAACP and the Winthrop Rockefeller Foundation. Mr. Green received the Spingarn Medal in 1958 as a member of the Little Rock Nine.

DR. ROBERT L. GREEN is currently Director of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Institute on Human Relations and Applied Research at Cuyahoga Community College in Cleveland, OH. As a private consultant, Dr. Green has worked with a number of

major urban school systems including those in Cleveland, Detroit, Memphis, and Portland, Oregon and has participated in hearings before Congress on desegregation issues. Dr. Green serves on the Board of Directors of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Non-Violent Social Change in Atlanta and as a national advisor to the NAACP's legal staff on matters related to educational parity and equity.

Dr. Green has written numerous books, chapters, monographs, and articles on urban educational desegregation and sociological issues over the past 25 years. His major works include *The Urban Challenge: Poverty and Race* and *Metropolitan Desegregation*. He has also published articles for inclusion in 15 other books, and published over 100 monographs, articles, and papers. He currently serves on the Board of the Journal for Equity and Excellence in Education.

Dr. Green's experiences as a scholar, educator and administrator spans over 30 years.

JAMES H. HALL, ESQ. was admitted to the Wisconsin Bar in 1979 and is admitted to practice before the U.S. District Court for Eastern and Western District of Wisconsin and U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit.

Mr. Hall is a member of the Board of Directors and Chairman of the Legal Redress Committee for the NAACP Milwaukee Chapter and was actively involved in the Milwaukee School Desegregation suit. He also served as a member of the National Organization on Legal Problems of Education from 1986 to 1991. He is the immediate past president of the Wisconsin Black Lawyers Association. Mr. Hall is the recipient of the Milwaukee Times Newspaper, Black Excellence Award for Law.

DR. WILLIS D. HAWLEY is Director of the Center for Education Policy at Vanderbilt Institute for Public Policy, a Professor of Education and Political Science at Peabody College of Vanderbilt University and the former Dean of Peabody College. Dr. Hawley has served as consultant to numerous public agencies including the U.S. Office of Management and Budget,

U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, and the U.S. Department of Education, as well as many state and local governments.

He has authored, co-authored and edited numerous publications including: *Strategies for Effective School Desegregation: Lessons from Research*, (9 Volumes), (1983); *Good Schools*, (1984) and *New Directions for Teacher Education in the United States*, (1968). He also edited several books including: *The Courts, Social Science and School Desegregation*, (1977) and *The Consequences of School Desegregation*, (1983)

DR. ASA G. HILLIARD, III is currently the Fuller E. Callaway Professor of Urban Education at Georgia State University. Dr. Hilliard is a teacher, psychologist and historian who served on the faculty at San Francisco State University for 18 years and as Dean of Education. He is active in forensic psychology, serving as an expert witness in several landmark federal cases on test validity, including the landmark *Larry P. v. Wilson Riles IQ* test case in the 9th Federal District, California.

Dr. Hilliard is a founder of the Association for the Study of Classical African Civilizations and serves as its first vice-president. He is the co-developer of a popular educational television series *Free Your Mind, Return to the Source: African Origins*. A prolific scholar and researcher, he has authored numerous technical papers, articles and books on testing, Ancient African History, teaching strategies, public policy cultural style, and child growth and development. Dr. Hilliard has consulted with many of the leading school districts, universities, government agencies, and private corporations on valid assessment, curriculum equity and teacher training.

Several of his programs such as the Portland, Oregon's Pluralistic Curriculum and Detroit, Michigan's Assessment and Instruction in special education have become national models.

DR. MARY RHODES HOOVER is a Professor of Black Studies (African/African American Literature and Language Skills) at San Francisco State University. She has authored three books, *The One-Two-Three*

Method: A Writing Process for Bidialectal Students, Successful Black Schools, and Patterns for Reading. She has also written numerous articles on black language, black literacy and black literature. Dr. Hoover was a former Chair of Black Studies at California State University Long Beach.

Dr. Hoover is currently working on a set of "Ethnocultural Readers" for non-reading public school students, and recently published *The Ethnography of Black Communications: The Language and Literature of Black Americans*. She is President of the National Association of Black Language Educators and an active member, NAACP Testing Advisory Committee (national); delegate, Sixth Pan-African Congress, Tanzania, Africa. She taught in the School of Nairobi for nine years.

JOSEPH E. MADISON NAACP National Board Member, has been a radio and television talk show host for 16 years. He is currently the host of the highly acclaimed "Lunch with Joe" talk program which airs weekdays 12 noon to 2:00 on WRC-98 AM in Washington, DC.

Mr. Madison has extensive knowledge and experience in Minority Rights and Urban Affairs. From 1979 to 1986, he was National Director of the NAACP Voter Education Department.

DR. LAMAR P. MILLER is a Professor of Education, and Founder and Director of the Metropolitan Center for Educational Research, Development and Training at New York University which coordinates numerous programs aimed at helping minorities and the disadvantaged achieve equity and success in education. He also served as Coordinator of the Desegregation Assistance Project at Eastern Michigan University from 1966 to 1967. Dr. Miller presently serves on the New York City Board of Education Task Force on Human Relations.

Dr. Miller has written several publications which include: *The Encyclopedia of Early Childhood Education*, (expected date of publication: 11/91) and *Brown Plus Thirty: Prospective on Desegregation*, (1986).

DR. WILLIAM A. MOORE an outstanding scientist, was appointed Vice

Chancellor for Academic Affairs for Southern University in 1989. During this period he has increased the learning opportunities available for students via telecommunications. In addition, he is responsible for integrating the African American experience into the college curriculum and developing a comprehensive science education program which over the next ten years promises to result in a Ph.D. in Science Education, honors component for science teachers, a science education focus at the laboratory school, and an environmental science certification component.

Dr. Moore has published several important papers on science teaching methodology and "Meeting the Educational Needs of Blacks."

DR. GARY ORFIELD is Professor at the University of Chicago, in the following units: Political Science, Social Sciences in the College, Education, and Committee on African and Afro-American Studies; Lecturer, and School of Law. He served as a Visiting Professor at Harvard Graduate School of Education during Fall, 1990, as Chairman of the National Institute of Education Study Group on Desegregation Research from 1978 to 1981, was a member of the American Academy of Arts and Science Task Force on Urban School Desegregation of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission's National School Desegregation Study Research Advisory Committee, and as Director of the National School Desegregation Research Project from 1986 to 1988.

He has testified before numerous Senate and House Hearings and served as expert witness in the following school desegregation cases: Los Angeles, St. Louis, Seattle, Denver, Tampa, Omaha, Houston, Little Rock, Memphis, Dayton, Columbus, Kansas City, Chicago, Cincinnati, Milwaukee, Ohio, Austin and Louisiana. (See Appendix for a list of Dr. Orfield's books and articles.)

HUGH J. SCOTT is currently Dean of Programs in Education and Professor of Education at Hunter College of the City University of New York. Dr. Scott was Superintendent of Schools in the District of Columbia from 1970 to 1973. His

publications include: "Curriculum and Desegregation: Needed Changes," *Florida Association for Supervision and Curriculum Publication*, Florida School Desegregation Center, (1972); "Reflections on Issues and Conditions Related to Public Education for Black Students," *Journal of Negro Education*, (1973); "Perspectives on the Desegregation of Predominantly Black School Systems: Issues and Challenges Facing Black School Superintendents," Rockefeller Foundation, (1982); "Desegregation in Nashville," *Education and Urban Society*, (1983); "Views of Black School Superintendents on School Desegregation," *The Journal of Negro Education*, (1983); "Some Assumptions about School Desegregation and the Education of Black Americans," *Resources in Education*, (1985); "Effective Schools Through Desegregation," *Brown Plus Thirty*, (1986).

DR. ETHEL SIMON-MCWILLIAMS is Associate Executive Director of the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory in Portland, Oregon. From 1984 to 1990, she served as Director of the Center for National Origin, Race & Sex Equity/Northwest and Pacific Islands.

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MICHAEL SUSSMAN, ESQ. is a Civil Rights Attorney who was employed by the U.S. Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division before coming to the NAACP in 1981. Mr. Sussman has successfully litigated some of the nation's most complex cases in school desegregation, including: Yonkers, NY; Jacksonville and Benton Harbor, FL; Cleveland, OH; Chicago, IL; Charleston, SC; Flint and Kalamazoo, MI and Indianapolis, IN.

In 1985, Mr. Sussman started Sussman & Sussman, a civil rights firm located in Orange County, New York.

WILLIAM L. TAYLOR, ESQ. is a lawyer, teacher and writer in the field of civil rights and education. He practices law in Washington, D.C., specializing in litigation and other forms of advocacy on behalf of

low income and minority children. He is also Adjunct Professor at the Georgetown University Law School. He began his legal career in 1954 as an attorney on the staff of the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund. Mr. Taylor also served as General Counsel and Staff Director of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. In 1970, Mr. Taylor founded the Center for National Policy Review, a civil rights research and advocacy organization funded by private foundations that he directed for 16 years. In 1987, he was retained as a legal consultant to Senator Kennedy's Committee on Labor and Human Resources to provide assistance on the Civil Rights Restoration Act which became a law in 1988. Mr. Taylor helped to secure major school desegregation victories in Wilmington, DE; Indianapolis, IN; St. Louis, MO; Cincinnati, OH, and Fort Wayne, IN.

Mr. Taylor has written widely about public law and policy issues for legal and education journals, magazines and newspapers, and is the author of a book, *Hanging Together: Equality in an Urban Nation*, (1971).

DR. REGINALD WILSON was named Senior Scholar of the American Council on Education in October, 1988. He joined the Council as Director of the Office of Minority Concerns on October 1, 1981. Prior to that appointment he was, for nearly ten years, President of Wayne County Community College in Detroit.

He is the co-author of *Human Development in the Urban Community*, the editor of *Race and Equity in Higher Education* and the author of *Civil Liberties and the U.S.* He is also on the editorial board of *The American Journal of Education* and *The Urban Review*.

